Thomas Gascoigne and Robert Grosseteste: Historical and Critical Notes

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There may be more than one reason why that scholarly Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Thomas Gascoigne, had a particular devotion for his predecessor Robert Grosseteste[1]. Beryl Smalley suggested that it was St. Jerome who linked both Chancellors together over the gap of two centuries.[2] As a matter of fact, Gascoigne's program for the University in the mid-fifteenth century was a patristic revival which proposed an effective and authentic reform of the clergy. It was to bring them to a more learned and less scholastic, more biblical and less financial involvement in their ministry, particularly in preaching. It seemed to him that the combination of scholarship and spiritual interpretation of the Bible found in Jerome's works, was the ideal that ought to be imitated. In his day Gascoigne could not find anyone who came so close to Jerome's spirit as Grosseteste. Odd to say, it was precisely the unscholastic strain of Grosseteste's exegetical writings, which to his contemporaries appeared obsolete and archaic, that gained him the grateful sympathy of Gascoigne.

These general and correct statements may be further illustrated by various circumstances and by referring to the background. According to his own words Gascoigne started collecting materials for his principal work, the *Dictionarium theologicum*, in 1434[3]. That same year he had

[1] The basic study on Thomas Gascoigne is still Winifred A. Pronger, "Thomas Gascoigne", *English Historical Review*, LIII (1938), 606-626; LIV (1939), 20-37; see also the excellent entry in *DNB*, VII (1908), 920-923, by R. L. Poole and A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register to the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, II (Oxford, 1958), pp. 745-748.

[2] Beryl Smalley, "The Biblical Scholar", in *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop*. Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of his Death. Edited by D. A. Callus (Oxford, 1955) p. 96.

[3] "... quam expositionem ... ego Thomas Gascoigne, in Eboracensi diocesi in Anglia natus, vidi Oxonie anno Domini 1434° quando incepi secundum formam tabule et secundum ordinem litterarum alphabeti librum seu scriptum de veritatibus collectis ex sacra scriptura et ex scriptis sanctorum et doctorum". Thomas Gascoigne, *Dictionarium theologicum* (MS Lincoln College lat. 118, p. 14a). Some extracts of this work have been printed by J. E. Thorold Rogers under the title *Loci e libro Veritatum*. Passages selected from Gascoigne's theological dictionary, illustrating the

obtained his mastership in theology at Oxford[1]. Being no more an undergraduate, he ventured to ask permission from the Greyfriars to visit the famous library of their friary. In those days there were two libraries at Greyfriars: that of the undergraduates and the other of the friary itself[2]. It is open to discussion whether this double library was due to the reaction of the Friars when in 1412 they were no longer allowed to use the University library[3]. In any case the young doctor was anxious to see the library of the friary, for it contained the precious collection of important books that Robert Grosseteste had bequeathed to the Friars 'because of his love for Friar Adam Marsh'[4]. Among them were many autographs of the Lincoln Bishop[5], and even a pair of his sandals were jealously preserved there as relics[6]. Gascoigne must have been fascinated by this superb collection of books he needed so much for his work. No other library was used by him more assiduously throughout his academic career. He explicitly mentions in his *Dictionarium* that he worked there in het years 1434, 1451, 1455 and 1456[7],

condition of Church and State, 1403-1448 (Oxford, 1881). However, since the selection is by no means exhaustive and the edition abounds in errors of transcription, my referenses are given from the manuscripts.

[1] Emden, p. 746.

[2] Gascoigne was the first to note this fact, e.g.: "est ille liber in libraria conventus sed non in libraria studentium. Due enim sunt ibidem librarie inter fratres minores Oxonie" (MS Lincoln College lat. 117, p. 519b); see also *ibid.* p. 114a and MS Lincoln College lat. 118, p. 16a and p. 89a.

[3] *Munimenta Academica* (ed. H. Anstey, *Rolls Series*, 1868), p. 264. On the library of Greyfriars see A. G. Little, *The Greyfriars in Oxford* (Oxford Hist. Soc. XX, Oxford, 1892), pp. 57-62; R. W. Hunt, "The Library of Robert Grosseteste", *Robert Grosseteste* (*ed. cit.* pp. 121-145; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (London, 1964), p. 141-142; K. W. Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars*, 1215-1400 (Amsterdam, 1964), p. 116.

[4] "Prae ceteris etiam familiarem habuit fratrem Adam de Marisco Bathoniensis dioecesis, ordinis Minorum, in sacra theologica doctorem eximium et famosum; ob cujus affectionem libros suos omnes conventui fratrum Minorum Oxoniae in testamento legavit". Nicolaus Trivet, *Annales* (ed. Thomas Hog, Londini, 1845), p. 243. R. W. Hunt has collected all the evidence about Grosseteste's library in the article quoted in note 3. A copy of Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, given by Grosseteste to Matthew Paris, may survive in Brit. Mus. MS Royal 4. D. vii. See Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 15 and 129 (note 3).

[5] On Grosseteste's autographs see R. W. Hunt, *loc. cit.*, p. 132-135, 138-141. Some years ago S. H. Thomson found a new MS with autographs of Robert Grosseteste viz. Vienna , Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS lat. 1619. See his article "An Unnoticed Autograph of Grosseteste", *Mediaevalia et Humanistica*, XIV (1962), 55-60, with one photograph. However, comparing this photograph with other certainly authentic hand-written notes of the Bishop, I cannot convince myself that it is the same hand.

[6] "Hec dominus Lincolniensis . . . cuius sandalia episcopalia facta de cirpis ego doctor Thomas Gascoigne Eboracensis dioscesis vidi et sunt Oxonie inter fratres minores in libraria conventus sed non in libraria studentium fratrum" (MS Lincoln 118, p. 89a).

[7] "Vidi Oxonie anno domini 1434°" (MS Lincoln 118, p. 14a); "vidi illa Oxonie inter fratres minores anno domini 1451 et postea" (MS Lincoln 117, p. 117b); "quod scriptum vidi anno Christi 1455" (ibid. p. 629a); "idem opus ego vidi Oxonie pluries anno Christi mmo CCCCmo quinquagesimo sexto et antea" (*ibid.* p. 640b).

but we may safely suppose that for a long time he had been an intimate friend of the Friars, so much so that the year before his doctorate he was presented with such a fine volume as Bodley 198[1]. This manuscript, containing *De civitate Dei* of St. Augustine and *Moralia in Iob* of St. Gregory had even belonged to Grosseteste himself, who had made subject notes and indexing symbols in it. Modern scholars use it now as the touchstone for identifying Grosseteste's handwriting. Evidently Gascoigne became perfectly acquainted with the books of the Friars, and nowadays most of our knowledge about their library stems from passing references in his *Dictionarium* and from annotations jotted down in the margins of his books.

That Gascoigne eagerly consulted the works of Grosseteste in the friary library becomes apparent at the first glance into his *Dictionarium*. No less than 550 quotations were found by Winifred A. Pronger[2]. To a great extent these quotations are so full and copious that they might prove very useful in tracing some of Grosseteste's lost works, or even in reconstructing them, and also in preparing the critical edition of other writings of the Lincoln Bishop. From one of those quotations it appears, for instance, that in 1455 a work *Contra luxuriam* was still extant at Greyfriars among the autographs of Grosseteste. It has been suggested that this work survives in the Pavia MS Aldini 69, fol. 85r-87v[3]. However, apart from the fact that the rubric "Sermo beati episcopi Lincolniensis regni Anglie approbatus per ecclesiam velud dicta beati Augustini" is not quite to the point[4], Gascoigne's quotation does not occur in this tract. The Aldini 'sermon' could be a fragment of the *Contra luxuriam*, though its style seems to me different from the passage quoted by Gascoigne. In order to make an identification of Grosseteste's work easier, I give here the full text from Gascoigne:

> LUXURIA. Attendite vobis ab omni fornicatione scientes in primis quia omnis fornicatio est crimen mortale, dicente Apostolo: 'Nolite errare, nec fornicarii nec idolis servientes . . . regnum Dei possidebunt' [I Cor. vi, 9-10]. Nec dicatur,

[1] In a note at the foot of fol. 107a, written in 1433, Gascoigne explicitly says: "istum librum dedit mihi sponte sub sigillo suo conventus fratrum minorum Oxonie" (quoted from S. H. Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste* [Cambridge Univ. Press, 1940], p. 27).

[2] Other authors cited are: St. Jerome (2200 times), St. Augustine (550 times), Hugh of Vienna (500 times), Duns Scotus (110 times), St. Gregory (44 times), St. Ambrose (35 times), Thomas Aquinas (35 times), Bonaventure (7 times). See W. A. Pronger, "Thomas Gascoigne", *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, LIV (1939), 34.

[3] Thomson, *Writings*, p. 181; Hunt, *loc. cit.* p. 136.

[4] The rubric is in the upper margin of fol. 85r. The "sermon", however, is far from being what the inscription suggests, for in a tedious manner it deals mainly with sodomy.

sicut quidam imperiti dicunt, quod fornicatio est res naturalis et ideo non est peccatum. Scire enim debet quod coniunctio maris et femine et propagatio prolis res est naturalis. Sed pruritus carnis, ardor et estuatio concupiscentialis et pudibundus motus membrorum genitalium contra imperium rationis, que sicut improba pedissequa comitantur semper opus naturale quo proles solet propagari, venerunt non de natura sed de peccato primi parentis. Si enim primus parens non peccasset, non esset aliquis ardor concupiscentialis aut pruritus carnis aut inordinatus motus membrorum genitalium contra imperium rationis, sed sine omni ardore concupiscentiali et carnis pruritu et inordinato et pudibundo motu per coniunctionem maris et femine fieret propagatio prolis. Concupiscentia igitur que comitatur opus naturalis propagationis de peccato venit et non est naturalis sed potius corruptio nature. Ipsa damnabilis est et non ipsum opus naturale. Et ipsa sic inficit opus naturale quod propter ipsam totum reputatur in culpam damnabilem, nisi excusetur per bonum matrimonii. Et quam gravis sit culpa fornicationis et adulterii et omnis illicitus usus illorum membrorum attendere potest ex penis pro peccato carnis humano generi inflictis, ut patet in diluvio Noe et quando periit Pentapolis igne et sulphure etc. Vide etiam quales pedissequas habeat luxuria, ut patet in David qui propter luxuriam fidelem Uriam interfecit, et sic in ceteris. Hec omnia et plura alia bona contra luxuriam habet dominus Lincolniensis, doctor Grosseteste, in quodam scripto suo contra luxuriam, quod scripsit manu sua propria. Et illud scriptum ex manu sua propria ego Thomas Gascoigne vidi Oxonie anno X[l] 1455, et est inter minores in libro registrato 'Episcopus Lincolniensis I.' Et dominus Lincolniensis scripsit illum scriptum contra luxuriam manu sua propria in libro post dictum domini Lincolniensis XXIII, et tamen illud scriptum domini Lincolniensis cum manu sua propria contra luxuriam non est in numero dictorum suorum, sed est opus per se distinctum, scriptum manu propria domini Lincolniensis contra luxuriam. Et illud scriptum domini Lincolniensis doctoris Roberti Grosseteste est inter fratres minores Oxonie in libro registrato 'Episcopus Lincolniensis I,' folio vicesimo quinto, ut vidi anno X[l] 1455[1].

Another work of Grosseteste that might be identified with the help of Gascoigne, is his comment on Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*. Of course I would not like to repeat the old error of ascribing the comment of William of Conches to the Lincoln Bishop[2]. Nevertheless, I want to give here a passage, attributed by Gascoigne to Grosseteste, which hitherto has remained unnoticed. It was even affirmed that there was no such evidence at all in Gascoigne's *Dictionarium*[3]. Under the same heading *Luxuria* Gascoigne quotes:

[1] MS Lincoln 118, p. 64a-b.

[2] See on this question Thomson, *Writings*, p. 243-244.

[3] In a note on p. 243 Thomson writes: "There is some mistake in Baur's construction of the text of Gascoigne's *Liber Veritatum*, which neither in the edition of Thorold Rogers nor, I am kindly informed by Miss Winifred Pronger who has read the whole MS carefully, in the autograph of Gascoigne ascribes the commentary to Grosseteste".

> . . . meretrices enim non amore sed spe lucri et voluptatis commiscent se cuilibet. Hec dominus Lincolniensis super Boicium *De consolatione*, prosa prima, 'felix qui potuit solvere vincula gravis terre', hec metro 12°, id est aurum et argentum que exeunt a terra, que ligavit mentes hominum. Unde recte appellantur vincula terre quibus ligatus homo nec cognoscere nec diligere poterit suum creatorem. Hec ibidem sanctus Lincolniensis super xii° metro Boicii *De consolatione*[1].

What gives relevance to this text is the fact that it does not occur in William of Conches' commentary, at least not in the reliable thirteenth century copy I consulted at the Vatican Library[2]. Of course this passage may be found in one of the other manuscripts of William's comment, perhaps in such that had been erroneously ascribed to Grosseteste[3]. In that case, Gascoigne might have been led into an erroneous assumption. If, however, Gascoigne's quotation cannot be traced, what truth lies in the affirmation of Arnoul Grében that he freely excerpted Grosseteste's commentary on Boethius for his own purpose[4]? For Pierre Courcelle's bare statement that "the attribution to Robert of Lincoln of a Latin commentary, though attested since the fifteenth century, has no foundation whatsoever"[5] would then demand further corroboration. It would be superfluous to say that Gascoigne's quotation does not originate from Grosseteste's own copy of *De consolatione* which survives in the Oxford MS Trinity College 17, fol. 1r-42v, 90r-98v[6]. Although this text is interesting on account of the indexing symbols, subject notes and references to works of Augustine and Seneca in the Bishop's handwriting, it has no comments or explanations in the margins.

It is especially the now lost notes of Grosseteste on the Pauline

[1] MS Lincoln 118, p. 63a.

[2] Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica MS lat. 5202, fol. 24va-26va, where the twelfth metrum of book IV is expounded, which begins: "Felix qui potuit boni/Fontem visere lucidum.' Felix qui potuit gravis/Terrae solvere vincula".

[3] For the MSS see Thomson, *Writings*, p. 243f., and P. Courcelle, "Étude critique sur les commentaires de la Consolation de Boèce (IX^e-XV^e siècles), *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, XIV (1939), 129-131.

[4] "Accipite igitur scolares gratiosi ac in disciplinae palaestra mecum Parisius militantes hoc opusculum non magistrale, sed sociale, non ex nostri ingenii imbecillitate formatum, sed ex diversorum Boetii glossatorum dictis multipliciter excerptum, puta Lyconiensis eius commentatoris dignissimi, fratris Nicolai Traveth ordinis praedicatorum qui dictum opus subtiliter utrimque, licet sub nimia brevitate, transcurrit; ex quadam etiam glosa licet antiquissima nonnullas applicationes utiles elicuimus; principaliter tamen Ronierum de Sancto Trudone secuti sumus quem quia super Boetium satis diffuse scripserat abreviavimus et multa paucum ad propositam materiam subservientia resecare disposuimus" (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 9323, fol. 3v; quoted by Courcelle, *loc. cit.* 110).

[5] Courcelle, *loc. cit.* 95.

[6] See R. W. Hunt in *Robert Grosseteste* (*ed. cit.*), p. 133.

Epistles and on their *Glossa ordinaria* that are often quoted in Gascoigne's *Dictionarium*. However it is remarkable that not all of the Epistles are equally represented. Most of the cited passages are glosses on Romans and I and II Corinthians. Only a few citations of Galatians, I Timothy, Ephesians, Titus and Hebrews have so far come to my notice and none of Philippians, Colossians, I and II Thessalonians and Philemon[1]. Yet I have systematically gone through only half of the two stout volumes that take up Gascoigne's main work. Nevertheless we may question whether Grosseteste actually did comment on all the Epistles, or should Gascoigne's selection be so misleading?

Frequent use is also made of Grosseteste's commentary on the Psalms[2]. Although Gascoigne explicitly states that the Bishop expounded the Psalter 'from the first Psalm to the hundredth inclusively"[3], he himself prefers to quote from the later Psalms, which are explained in a more continuous and orderly fashion. As is known, up to Psalm 80 the commentary is a rather confused selection of *Dicta* and sermons which somehow or other deal with a Psalm text. Gascoigne certainly was aware of the disorder in the work and possibly he knew the reason. He noted that there were two copies of the commentary in the library of Greyfriars: one in Robert Grosseteste's handwriting and the other 'in a better script'[4]. That means that Grosseteste's copy was badly written and probably was a working copy with the margins filled up with scribbles and notes which only the author could understand. It has been suggested that the 'better' copy survives in MS Bologna, Archiginnasio A. 983[6]. This manuscript is indeed a beautiful book with

[1] To give an idea of the proportion of quotations: against 34 quotations from the comment on Romans, 27 and 26 from respectively I and II Corinthians, I came upon only 5 quotations from Galatians and I Timothy, two from Ephesians and one from Titus and Hebrews. At the same time I came across 30 quotations from the comment on the Psalms.

[2] See note 24. On this commentary see M.R. James, "Robert Grosseteste on the Psalms", *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXIII (1922), 181-184; Thomson, *Writings*, p. 75-76; B. Smalley in *Robert Grosseteste* (*ed. cit.*), p. 76-77.

[3] "Scripsit idem doctor super psalterium usque ad psalmum centesimum inclusive" (MS Lincoln 117, p. 640b); "exponuntur ibi psalmi per eundem doctorem a psalmo primo usque ad psalmum centesimum inclusive" (MS Lincoln 118, p. 16a).

[4] "Et nota quod exponit psalterium usque ad psalmum 100 inclusive et manu sua propria scripsit et opus suum super psalterium meliori scriptu est Oxonie inter fratres minores et registratur 'Episcopus Lincolniensis ff!" (MS Lincoln 118, p. 151b); "psalterium expositum et scriptum manu sua propria registratur Oxonie inter fratres minores 'Episcopus Lincolniensis d'; et psalterium suum quod non scribitur manu propria domini Lincolniensis registratur ibidem 'Episcopus Lincolniensis ff'." (MS Lincoln 118, p. 306a).

[6] Thomson, *Writings*, p. 75. The catalogue number of the Bologna MS is 983, not 893 as Thomson writes by mistake. For a description see G. Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia*. XXXII (Firenze, 1925): *Bologna*, by A. Sorbelli, p. 123-124.

red and blue coloured initials and a decorated front page. It is written in a good English hand from the beginning of the fourteenth century. By its colophon we are assured that the text was reproduced from the original in the library of Oxford, doubtless that of Greyfriars.[1] From about 1508-1512, at least, the book was in Italy in the library of the friary of St. Dominic at Bologna[2], but this does not present difficulties, for it arrived there not earlier than 1386[3]. So it remains quite possible that Gascoigne should have seen it at Oxford. However, it may be objected that no trace has been found of the pressmark with which the English Franciscans used to sign their books. According to Gascoigne it was marked 'Episcopus Lincolniensis ff'[4]. But the Bologna MS displays only an old number 16. II. 17, which may refer to the shelves of St. Dominic's library at Bologna.[5] In my opinion, also the colophon makes it rather doubtful that the book should have belonged to the Greyfriars of Oxford. An Oxford Friar Minor copying the work for his own use would probably not have said that the book was made 'secundum exemplar librorum librarie Oxonie'. In one way or another he would have noted that the original was in his *own* library, not in *the library of Oxford*. The text rather suggests that the book was copied on behalf of a man who did not belong to the Oxford community. But there are other indications which lead one to understand that the MS of Bologna can hardly be identified with the 'better written' copy Gascoigne saw in the Oxford library of Greyfriars. We find that the Bologna copyist had before him *two* redactions of Grosseteste's comment on Psalms 80 and 81, and he transcribed both of them, the one after the other[6]. The second redaction represents several even longer in-

[1] "Explicit Lincolniensis super psalterium quantum reperitur ipsum fecisse secundum exemplar librorum librarie Oxonie. Amen" (MS Bologna 983, fol. 173vb).

[2] Fabio Vigili mentions this MS in his finding list of the convent of St. Dominic with the words "Linconiensis episcopi expositio super Psalterium." This list was made after 1508 and before April 1512. See M.-H. Laurent, *Fabio Vigili et les Bibliothèques de Bologne au début du XVI^e siècle d'après le MS. Barb. lat.* 3185 (Studi e Testi, CV, Città del Vaticano, 1943), p. xxii and 15.

[3] It does not occur in the old catalogue, made before 1386, of the convent, which was edited by M.-H. Laurent, *Fabio Vigili*, p. 203-235.

[4] See above note 27. On the pressmark used by Franciscan convents cf. N.R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (*ed. cit.*), p. xix.

[5] G. Mazzatinti, *loc. cit.* p. 123.

[6] The first exposition of Psalm 80 is on fol. 61va-63vb; that of Psalm 81 follows on fol. 63vb-65rb. The second redaction can be read on fol. 66rb-68vb and 68vb-70va. Between them lies, among other comments, the first part of the treatise or sermon *De confessione* (Inc.: "Quoniam cogitacio hominis . . ."; see Thomson, *Writings*, p. 125 and 172). That in the second redaction a student or a secretary is at work may appear from such an expression as "in precedenti psalmo dicebat" (fol. 68vb).

sertions, especially in the notes on Psalm 81, but on the whole its references to the sources are less accurate and less elaborate than in the first transcript. Since it is hard to believe that Grosseteste would have written both redactions in his own copy, we must assume that the transcriber of Archiginnasio A. 983 collated more than one book in the library of Greyfriars. With these facts in mind it is now easier to understand the full sense of the colophon of the Bologna MS. We need no longer be puzzled by those enigmatic words 'librorum librarie' as tautology, for the Bologna copy was made according to the books in the Oxford library, insofar as they proved to contain Grosseteste's comment on the Psalms: "Explicit Lincolniensis super psalterium *quantum* reperitur ipsum fecisse secundum exemplar *librorum* librarie Oxonie. Amen"[1]. It is tempting, though little less than arbitrary, to propose the Vatican MS Ottobon. lat. 185, fol. 196ra-215vb as a new candidate for the 'better written' copy noted by Gascoigne[2]. Though the fragment of 20 folios, bound together with Bonaventure's commentary on the fourth book of the *Sentences*, is written in a beautiful English bookhand from the middle of the thirteenth century, we can produce no further evidence than that its text is notably different from the Bologna collation. This could be a hint that it might be a direct copy from Grosseteste's autograph.

The close relationship of Gascoigne and Grosseteste has recently received a new confirmation. In 1954 the Bodleian Library acquired a little manuscript that probably once belonged to the library of the Franciscan Mission of Abergavenny. It is a notebook of Thomas Gascoigne, containing drafts relative to his *Dictionarium theologicum*[3]. By no means do I intend to give here an exhaustive description of the book nor to investigate its exact relation to the *Dictionarium*. I just wish to say a word on the place that Grosseteste occupied in this work also of Gascoigne's. We are not surprised to find that here, again, Grosseteste is one of Gascoigne's favorite authors. He is quoted no less than 50 times. Frequently used are his comments on the Psalms (17 times) and on I and II Corinthians (respectively 7 and 14 times).

[1] MS Bologna 983, fol. 173vb. The italics are mine. Thomson, *Writings*, p. 75, erroneously reads *quem* for *quantum*.

[2] Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica MS Ottobon. lat. 185, fol. 196ra-215vb. This manuscript was first noted by Victorin Doucet, "Commentaires sur les Sentences", *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XLVII (1954), 103.

[3] Bodl. Libr. MS Lat. th. e. 33. See *Notable Accessions. Guide to an Exhibition held in* 1958 (Oxford, 1958), p. 14.

Other references to Grosseteste's works are: comments on II Timothy (4 times), Romans (3 times), Galatians (twice), Ephesians an I Timothy (once), *Propositum*[1] (once), sermon *Natis et educatis*[2] (once). Once more we meet those emphatic, clumsy, egotistic assertions to the effect that he himself had seen Grosseteste's handwriting. A typical page, of which a plate was reproduced in the guide to a Bodleian exhibition, might be transcribed here. Having quoted a text of Grosseteste, Gascoigne gives the reference:

> Lincolniensis doctor Robertus Grosseteste, super psalterium David, super psalmum 68, in expositione sua propria et propria manu sua scripta. Et sic scripsit super psalterium usque ad psalmum 100 inclusive. Et hoc opus suum sic scriptum manu sua propria vidi ego Thomas Gascoigne, filius et heres Ricardi Gascoigne, domini quondam mandrii de Hunsslet, Eboracensis diocesis. Et hoc opus domini Lincolniensis, quod propria manu sua scripsit, est Oxonie inter fratres minores, et registratur in libraria conventus 'opus Lincolniensis d'. Et anno Christi 1456 hoc opus vidi et hoc tunc scripsi.[3]

The theme of preaching and pastoral care is omnipresent in this notebook, as could be expected from a man who was profoundly convinced that preaching was panacea for all evils[4]. And again Grosseteste provided useful texts. The notebook recommends the example of St. Gregory and that of Robert Grosseteste. These men, taking the Gospels as their subject, expound all its contents, proceeding from the beginning and explaining one passage after the other. They were alive to the true purport of a text. When, for instance, the text was dealing

[1] This *Propositum* or *Propositio* forms part of the documents issued by Grosseteste at the Papal Curia in 1250. See Thomson, *Writings*, p. 141-147. The passage quoted by Gascoigne became almost proverbial: "Cum facta est ecclesiarum appropriatio, facta est in ecclesia Dei omnium malorum perpetuatio" (MS Lat. th. e. 33, p. 60). It occurs in Grosseteste's memorandum which was read aloud by Cardinal John of St. Nicholas, but in a more specific sense: "Cum vero religiosis sit ecclesiarum parochialium appropriatio, pretactorum malorum firmata est perpetuatio" (Brit. Mus. MS Royal 6.E.v, fol. 127ra).

[2] See Thomson, *Writings*, p. 117.

[3] Bodl. Libr. MS Lat. th.e. 33, p. 41. Cf. also: "et iste doctor scripsit diversa opera in 7 scientiis liberalibus et in tribus philosophiis et in sacra theologia; que opera excedunt in quantitate voluminis totum opus doctoris de Lira super vetus et novum testamentum ut ego iudico qui vidi illa opera scripta manu propria ipsius domini Lincolniensis quando fui cancellarius Oxonie post tertiam electionem meam ad illud officium anno domini 1444" (p. 29); "et idem doctor Grosseteste habet idem et probat istam veritatem in sermone suo de cura pastorali qui incipit 'Natis et educatis', quem sermonem vidi scriptum manu et scriptum a propria ipsius domini Lincolniensis, scilicet doctoris Roberti Grosseteste, qui natus fuit in Anglia et, ut dicitur, in Northfolchia." (p.60). Note that Grosseteste's native place is usually described as "in the county of Suffolk", whereas here it is stated to be in Norfolk.

[4] W. A. Pronger, "Thomas Gascoigne", *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, LIII (1938), 617; LIV (1939), 30-31.

with prayer, they were careful to define what prayer is, which prayer finds acceptance by God and which not, on which conditions, what results can be expected when a prayer is acceptable to God, why God sometimes does not grant a petition, why he prohibits prayer for certain sinners and why we direct vocal prayers to God though He knows the inmost secrets of our hearts[1]. It is obvious that Gascoigne wanted his preachers humbly to instruct the people in the evangelical way of life and that he would not appreciate any kind of oratorical fireworks or scholastic quibbling.

In connection with a verse of Romans xv, where St. Paul professes to have completed the preaching of the Gospel from Jerusalem as far abroad as Illyricum, Gascoigne makes a personal confession that deserves to be quoted for its historical interest:

> . . . hoc dicit Apostolus, ut audientes hec laudent Deum et optent quod omnis spiritus laudet Deum semper [cf. Ps. cl. 6]. Et etiam dicit hoc, ut alii homines imitentur eum in hoc opere predicandi secundum gradum vocationis sue per Deum. Ego enim miser Thomas Gascoigne Eboracensis diocesis, filius et heres Ricardi Gascoigne de Hunsslet, vocatus doctor theologie olim et cancellarius Oxonie, offero me misericordie Dei ineffabili ut mei misereatur et deleat iniquitates meas. Credo enim quod non predicavi tot bona – [utinam] predicassem – nec totiens predicavi ut debui, nec modo orandi et flendi. Laus enim Deo semper quod aliquando predicavi Eboraci et aliquando Londoniis in diversis ecclesiis, et in omnibus ecclesiis Oxonie, et in comitatu Oxonie in diversis locis, et in Pontefracto et Doncastrie et in villa de Ledys et in Coventria et in Notyngham et in villa Evesham et in Southsex et in villa de Scheen, non longe a monasterio Syon, et in aliis locis hic non nominatis. Omnis spiritus laudet Deum semper. Amen[2].

There is another remark in the notebook to which I would like to call attention. As is well known, Gascoigne several times affirmed

[1] "Solebant enim episcopi et rectores predicare suis populis eis subditis omnia quatuor evangelia, incipiendo a principio, et sic postillare textum, id est textum post textum exponendo inferre. Et quando textum declarabant populo, declarabant illa que pertinebant ad materias contentas in eodem textu. Exemplum; quando enim tractabant de oratione, tractabant et declarabant articulos concernentes materiam orationis, scilicet quid est oratio. Item que oratio placet Deo et que non. Item que essent conditiones orationis. Item effectus consequentes orationem Deo placentem. Item quare dominus aliquando non concedit petita. Item quare dominus precipit aliquando non orandum pro certis peccatoribus salvandis quamdiu permanent in statu eodem peccati, sicut Jeremie 7° dixit dominus 'noli orare pro populo hoc', scilicet Ierusalem, id est noli orare ut pena eis debita ulterius differatur, quia sententia mea divina contra eos consummata est. Item declarabant quare vocaliter oramus ad Deum ex quo novit occulta cordis sine voce. Sic enim declaravit materias quando predicavit Gregorius doctor et episcopus Lincolniensis magister Robertus Grostet . . ." (MS Lat. th.e. 33, p. 28).

[2] MS Lat.th.e. 33, p. 68.

that Grosseteste was 'doctor sacre theologie de Oxonia'[1]. Father Daniel A. Callus pointed out that this expression does not necessarily imply that Grosseteste obtained his mastership at Oxford. It may simply mean that he was for some time Regent-master in Oxford, a fact which has hever been disputed[2]. However, Gascoigne might have intended to say that he obtained his degree at Oxford. In our notebook the statement 'doctor sacre theologie Oxoniensis' is stressed by the words 'ut patet in litteris Universitatis Oxonie missis Clementi iiii pape pro eius canonizatione'[3]. A similar text, also in the hand of Gascoigne, occurs at the end of the treatise *De cura pastorali* in MS Bodley 312: "Iste dominus Lincolniensis fuit doctor sacre theologie Oxoniensis, ut patet in litera testimoniali quam post mortem eius scripsit clerus Oxonie Clementi iv pape pro eius canonizatione fienda" (fol. 184v). According to Gascoigne, a copy of this letter was preserved at the Augustinian Abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Osney (Oxfordshire)[4]. From a Barlow MS with the letters of Grosseteste Tanner copied the note that Grosseteste was "doctor SS. Theol. Oxoniensis, ut patet in litera univ. Oxon. missa Clementi iv papae, cujus copia est prope Oxoniam in abbatia de Osney, in quodam nigro libro"[5]. I do not know if there is any possibility that this 'black book' survives among the books that once belonged to Osney Abbey. Could the letter have been included in the Chronicles which now are among the Cotton manuscripts[6]?

At the same time one more point ought to be emphasized regarding the texts we have just mentioned. Describing the various stages of the attempted canonization of Robert Grosseteste, Eric W. Kemp surprisingly states that after the first request for canonization under Alexander IV (1254-1261) no further move was made for some twenty-five years. He wondered why the University of Oxford should not have given any answer when during the autumn and winter of 1286/7 the Bishop, Dean and Chapter of Lincoln sought support for their petition[7]. Now

[1] So in a note in MS Balliol College 235, fol. 181v. The expression "doctor sacre theologie Oxoniensis" is found *e.g.* in MS Lincoln College 54, fol. 17ra; MS Lincoln College 117, p. 30a and 95b; MS Lincoln College 118, p. 306a.

[2] D. A. Callus, "Robert Grosseteste as Scholar", *Robert Grosseteste* (*ed. cit.*), p. 5-6.

[3] MS Lat.th.e. 33, p. 28.

[4] "Et est copia huius litere in monasterio canonicorum de Osney" (MS Bodley 312, fol. 184v). This text is referred by T. Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannica-Hibernica* (London, 1748), p. 347, note °.

[5] Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, p. 348, note g.

[6] See N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 140-141.

[7] E. W. Kemp, "The Attempted Canonization of Robert Grosseteste", *Robert Grosseteste* (*ed. cit.*), p. 244-245.

it is evident from the texts quoted above, that the University of Oxford and its clergy had already presented their plea to Rome nearly twenty years earlier, during the pontificate of Clement IV (1265-1268). The 'litera testimonialis' they sent to the Pope thus constitutes the link between the first mission of Nicholas Grecus during the papacy of Alexander IV and that of Canon Simon de Worth promoted by Bishop Oliver Sutton soon after his election in 1280.

It is my conviction that upon several other questions concerning Robert Grosseteste new light may be thrown by a further examination of Gascoigne's works. The new edition of Gascoigne's *Dictionarium theologicum*, which is being prepared for the Oxford Historical Society[1], will therefore be welcomed by students of the Lincoln Bishop. On the other hand, any outline of Gascoigne's personality will remain defective unless full justice is done to the amount of ideas and inspiration Gascoigne derived from Grosseteste. I am aware of the difficulties which will attend the investigation of the doctrinal and intellectual bonds that linked both Chancellors. In such an essentially eclectic work as Gascoigne's theological dictionary it is all but easy to segregate his real tenets from mere borrowings or simply mentioned opinions. Furthermore, the quotations from Grosseteste's works apparently are determined by the Chancellor's pastoral anxiety to provide materials for the instruction of his clergy rather than selected on account of his own doctrinal concern. Nevertheless, the historical and cricical notes to which we limited ourselves in this paper may have sufficiently proved that the fate of the Chancellor, who in Dean's Register of Oriel was described as 'one of the most honoured names in the long roll of Oxford University'[2], is inevitably linked up with his predecessor, who in his century, even in the eyes of the foreigner Salimbene, was considered 'unus de maioribus clericis de mundo'.

Rome
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[1] Information given by A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, II (Oxford, 1958), p. 747.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 746.